

Message Text

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TAGS: MARR, PFOR, SP, US

SUBJ: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS--VIEWS OF FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA
AND UNDER SECRETARY ROVIRA

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA HAD A CONVERSATION AUGUST 25 WITH THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR, VON LILIENFELD, WHICH THROWS SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON HIS THINKING. STATING OUTRIGHT THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THERE WILL BE NO NEW BASE AGREEMENT, CORTINA REPORTEDLY SAID THAT, IN THIS CASE, SPAIN WOULD LOOK TO BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE, THE FRG, AND ITALY TO SECURE ITS FRONTIERS. THE GERMAN EMBASSY HERE ASSURES US CORTINA IS GETTING NO ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THEM TO THINK ALONG THESE LINES. END SUMMARY.

1. FRG AMBASSADOR VON LILIENFELD HAS REVIEWED FOR POL/MIL COUNSELOR HIS CONVERSATIONS CONCERNING THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BOTH UNDER SECRETARY ROVIRA (ON AUGUST 18) AND WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA (AUGUST 25). AS ALSO REPORTED IN STATE 200957, ROVIRA HAD COME FROM THE FIRST TWO SESSIONS OF ROUND 9 CONSIDERABLY DISCOURAGED AND APPARENTLY BELIEVING THAT THE US MIGHT BE TRYING TO DRAG OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AFTER FRANCO'S DEPARTURE FROM THE SCENE. VON LILIENFELD DID NOT MENTION ANY REQUEST TO HIM TO HELP PERSUADE US TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE (AS REPORTED IN THE STATE TELEGRAM) NOR HAVE THE GERMANS MADE ANY SUCH SUGGESTIONS TO US HERE.

2. WHAT WAS PERHAPS MORE INTERESTING ABOUT ROVIRA'S CONVERSATION

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WITH VON LILIENFELD WAS THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS ESSENTIALLY BALANCED

PRESENTATION AND THE DOGMATIC, LEGALISTIC AND RATHER EMOTIONAL PRESENTATION MADE BY CORTINA IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH VON LILIENFELD ON AUGUST 25 IN SAN SEBASTIAN. CORTINA HAD REHEARSED AT LENGTH THE BY NOW WELL-KNOWN PITCH ON EQUALITY AND A SPANISH VOICE IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COUNCILS AS THE PRICE FOR A SPANISH CONTRIBUTION. HE STRESSED HOW POORLY THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING, THAT THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WOULD PROBABLY BE ALLOWED TO EXPIRE ON SEPTEMBER 26 WITHOUT EXTENSION, AND THAT THERE MIGHT WELL BE NO NEW AGREEMENT AT ALL. IN THIS CONTEXT HE REPORTEDLY SUGGESTED THAT SPAIN WOULD THEN LOOK TO BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE, THE FRG AND ITALY TO SECURE ITS FRONTIERS. HE DID HOLD OUT THE HOPE THAT HIS PROJECTED MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER MIGHT HELP MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS ALONG. HE ALSO PRESSED FOR A MEETING WITH FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER. (AN INVITATION TO VISIT GENSCHER AT HIS VACATION RETREAT IN SOUTHERN GERMANY CONFLICTED WITH CORTINA'S PRESENT OBLIGATIONS IN SAN SEBASTIAN AND IT WAS APPARENTLY LEFT THAT THEY WOULD SEE EACH OTHER AT THE UNGA, AND PRESUMABLY ALSO IN CONNECTION WITH A POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRIME MINISTER ARIAS TO BONN IN THE FALL.)

3. VON LILIENFELD ASSURED US, AS DID HIS POLITICAL COUNSELOR (IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION SEPTEMBER 2) THAT NO RPT NO ENCOURAGEMENT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO CORTINA BY THE FRG ON THE ISSUE OF CLOSER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FRG. THEY HAVE EXPLAINED TO THE SPANISH THE POLITICAL REALITIES IN THE FRG, AND TRIED TO MAKE THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLOSER CONTACTS AT THE MILITARY LEVEL, WHICH THEY ARE PROMOTING, AND ANYTHING WITH A POLITICAL FLAVOR.

4. THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR NOTED ALSO THAT CORTINA DID SEE GENSCHER IN PRIVATE AT HELSINKI AND THAT THE LATTER'S OFFHAND COMMENT TO HIS STAFF AFTERWARDS TO THE EFFECT THAT CORTINA'S IDEAS WERE SOMEWHAT "WILD" MIGHT CONCEIVABLY INDICATE THAT CORTINA HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF A BILATERAL OPTION. IN ANY EVENT, THIS WAS NOT A GAME THE FRG WOULD WISH TO PLAY.

5. IN BRIEFING VON LILIENFELD AND THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR ON THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE UNDERLINED THE US INTEREST IN COMPLETING THE NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND IN A 5-YEAR AGREEMENT. WE STRESSED AS WELL THE FIRM US DISINCLINATION TO MAKE THE
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DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN NATO AND NON-NATO-RELATED FACILITIES WHICH THE SPANISH SIDE HAS BEEN SEEKING.
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